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ALONG WITH

BRIEF HISTORICAL AND OTHER PERTINENT INFORMATION CONCERNING THE COMMITTEE

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99TH CONGRESS

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I. INTRODUCTION

Revenue and spending legislation

The Committee on Ways and Means approved several significant tax measures in the 98th Congress. In the first session, the Committee reported H.R. 1296, the Payment-in-Kind Tax Treatment Act of 1983 (Public Law 98–4), which allowed taxpayers to defer recognition of income on certain commodities received under the 1983 Payment-in-Kind Program. The Committee also approved H.R. 2973 (Public Law 98–67) which repealed the withholding of tax from interest and dividends which had been enacted in the Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act of 1982. In addition, the Committee favorably reported H.R. 1183 which would have limited to $700 the maximum reduction in individual income tax resulting from the third year of the rate cuts enacted by the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981.

H.R. 2769, the Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Act, considered by the Committee, emphasized trade issues. However, it also contained excise tax benefits for Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands and business expense deductions for conventions held in certain Caribbean basin countries. Also, H.R. 1900, the Social Security Amendments of 1983, approved by the Committee, included provisions imposing Federal income tax on certain benefits of higher income individuals and combining the Tax Credit for the Elderly with the disability income exclusion.

The Committee also approved H.R. 4170, the Tax Reform Act of 1983, which was subsequently amended by the Senate and enacted into law as a portion of the Deficit Reduction Act of 1984. The Act includes revenue measures which raise $50.7 billion from fiscal years 1984 through 1987 and spending reductions of $10 billion for the same period. The revenue increases result from postponement of certain tax reductions, scaling back of unwarranted tax advantages for businesses, prevention of tax base erosion, and improvement of tax equity. The most significant provisions in the Act include the following: (1) postponement in certain tax reductions (e.g., telephone excise tax, foreign earned income exclusion); (2) increase in the distilled spirits excise tax rate; (3) reform of the tax exempt entity leasing rules; (4) modifications in the treatment of bonds and other debt instruments; (5) elimination of certain tax benefits by measuring more accurately corporations' income; (6) reform of the taxation of income earned abroad by U.S. residents and of U.S.-source income earned by foreign investors; (7) restrictions on the use of partnerships and trusts to avoid taxation; (8) accounting changes to more truly reflect economic income; (9) modification of the tax treatment of straddles; (10) overhaul of the taxation of life insurance companies; (11) permanent rules governing the tax treatment of employee fringe benefits and other employee benefits; (12)

modification of depreciation and related rules; (13) improved taxpayer compliance rules; (14) major revisions in the taxation of private foundations; (15) miscellaneous tax simplification provisions; (16) restrictions on the use of tax exempt bonds; (17) technical corrections for previous legislation; (18) foreign sales corporations as a replacement for Domestic International Sales Corporations; (19) revisions in certain highway revenue provisions; (20) miscellaneous revenue provisions and (21) numerous spending reductions [described under subcommittee activity]. Also, H.R. 4170 included H.R. 2163, the Federal Boat Safety Act, which earlier was reported by the Committee.

In 1984, the Committee considered and favorably reported H.R. 5640, the Superfund Expansion and Protection Act of 1984. The legislation would have modified, increased, and extended for 5 years the excise taxes which fund hazardous waste cleanup programs. In addition, the Committee approved H.R. 4280, the Retirement Equity Act of 1983 (Public Law 98–397), which provided rules to improve the treatment of women's pension and other retirement benefits.

Subcommittee on Trade

The Committee, particularly through its Subcommittee on Trade, considered a number of important trade and tariff legislative measures. These activities culminated with the passage and enactment of the Trade and Tariff Act of 1984, a comprehensive measure involving numerous amendments to U.S. trade laws. The Subcommittee also maintained close and continual oversight of the administration of U.S. trade statutes and the implementation of trade agreements, and of developments under the trade agreements program. Members and staff were in constant contact with trade agency officials, private sector representatives, and foreign delegations on trade issues and the operation of trade laws and programs.

The major legislative activity focused on amendments to the trade remedy laws, providing U.S. industries and workers relief from injurious foreign subsidy and dumping practices. The Subcommittee held 7 days of hearings to receive information on the operation of the various U.S. trade remedy laws and suggestions for their improvement. Based on this material and subsequent consultations between Members, staff, and private sector interests, the Subcommittee developed H.R. 4784 to improve the countervailing duty and antidumping laws addressing unfair trade practices as first priority by broadening the scope of these laws and increasing access by reducing costs and administrative burdens. Certain provisions of this bill, which passed the House on July 26, 1984, plus other Senate amendments became Title IX of the Trade and Tariff Act of 1984, passed by the Congress on October 9, 1984, and enacted as Public Law 98–573 on October 30.

Another major trade activity was renewal of the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) Program authorizing the President to grant duty-free treatment to imports of eligible articles from designated developing countries, until January 3, 1995. The Subcommittee held 3 days of hearings on the operation of the program and various proposals for reauthorization. H.R. 6023, as reported by the Committee on September 27, 1984, and passed by the House on Oc-

tober 2, renewed the program for 5 years with major changes to redistribute benefits to more needy countries and to add further criteria for designating beneficiaries. The bill as amended in House-Senate conference became Title V of the Trade and Tariff Act of 1984.

The Committee also held hearings and reported legislation implementing the administration's proposed Caribbean Basin Initiative granting duty-free entry of most imports from eligible Caribbean Basin countries, certain tax and trade benefits to Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, and tax deductions for business expenses relative to conventions held in the Caribbean. These measures to help alleviate the chronic economic crisis in the region were enacted in August 5, 1983, as Title II of H.R. 2973 (Public Law 98-67), interest and dividends tax withholding repeal.

The main Committee legislative initiative in trade agreement authority was H.R. 5377, passed by the House on October 2, 1984, authorizing the President to negotiate, enter into, and implement an agreement creating a free trade area between the United States and Israel. Consideration was preceded by a visit to Israel by some Members to investigate firsthand issues concerning Israel's competitive situation. The authority as amended in House-Senate conference to require Congressional approval under expedited procedures of an agreement prior to its implementation was included as Title IV of the Trade and Tariff Act of 1984.

The Committee was also active in oversight and legislation concerning trade issues in particular product sectors. In the context of an import relief investigation by the International Trade Commission and proposed legislation to restrict imports of steel mill products, the Subcommittee on Trade held comprehensive hearings on trade and competitiveness problems of the steel industry. Following President Reagan's decision on September 18, 1984, to negotiate bilateral export restraint agreements with steel exporting countries and to strengthen enforcement of existing trade remedy statutes against foreign unfair trade practices, Chairman Rostenkowski introduced H.R. 6301, the Steel Import Stabilization Act, providing the President authority to enforce the quantitative restrictions under bilateral steel agreements, conditioned on adequate performance by the major domestic steel companies with respect to modernization, investment, and worker retraining. On October 2, the House passed the bill which became Title VIII of the Trade and Tariff Act of 1984.

After extensive hearings on trade problems of the automobile industry and domestic content legislation in the 97th Congress, the Subcommittee solicited written comments on H.R. 1234, domestic content legislation in the 98th Congress. The Committee ordered the bill adversely reported to the House on September 20, 1983.

The Subcommittee maintained its oversight of various textile trade issues and programs, including administration of the Multifiber Arrangement through bilateral agreements and executive orders issued by the President concerning imports not presently controlled by quotas, circumvention of textile quotas, and revising country-of-origin rules.

The Subcommittee also held hearings on trade problems affecting the wine and grape products industries. An amendment to H.R.

3795 was developed in Subcommittee in cooperation with sponsors of the original bill and industry representatives to focus administration attention on foreign barriers to U.S. wine trade in major potential export markets through negotiations and other actions and to enable grape growers to obtain relief from subsidized or dumped imports of wine. The amended bill passed the House on October 2 and became Title IX of the Trade and Tariff Act of 1984.

During the 98th Congress the Subcommittee on Trade continued close oversight of operations and organization of the U.S. Customs Service. Largely in response to Subcommittee concerns about duplication of functions, the administration proposed consolidation of the primary inspection and land patrol functions of the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the U.S. Customs Service. The Subcommittee also maintained oversight of the development of the Harmonized Commodity Classification system, a new international system for the customs classification of goods in international trade, and changes that would be required in the U.S. system through legislation if the United States becomes a signatory.

A number of legislative measures originating in the Subcommittee on Trade were also passed by the House affecting specific provisions of customs law, such as an increased allowance for informal entries, a changed due date for payment of additional duties, amendments pertaining to the licensing of customs brokers, expanded application of current drawback provisions, public disclosure of certain available manifest information on imports, exemptions of U.S.-flag vessels from the 50 percent duty on overseas repairs and equipment in certain circumstances, establishment of $10,000 civil penalties for each violation of imports or exports of stolen vehicles, exemption of bicycle component parts from the foreign trade zone exemption from customs laws, and a requirement that a customs district be established in the Pacific Northwest. Also, significant improvements were made in customs enforcement provisions to deal with the narcotics problem, including better procedures for handling civil forfeitures, expanded arrest authority, increased compensation to informers, and establishment of a Customs Forfeiture Fund to help defray costs of forfeiture procedures.

In addition, the Committee reported and the House passed 85 miscellaneous tariff and trade bills in two omnibus bills (H.R. 3398 and H.R. 6064) proposing temporary duty reductions, suspension of duties, or changes in classification relating to individual products or import entries. The House and Senate agreed to include 103 such measures in Titles I and II of the Tariff and Trade Act of 1984.

The Subcommittee also held hearings on legislation to extend and make various amendments in the coverage and operation of the trade adjustment assistance programs for workers and firms. H.R. 3391, extending the programs for 2 years until September 30, 1985, with various modifications, was reported by the Committee on June 19, 1983, and passed the House on September 15. On September 29, the day before programs were due to expire, the Senate added a 2-year extension to H.R. 3813, renewing the International Coffee Agreement, which was agreed to by the House on September 30 and enacted as Public Law 98–120 on October 12, 1983. Some minor amendments from H.R. 3391 to the worker and firm trade

adjustment assistance programs were later included in H.R. 4170, the Deficit Reduction Act of 1984, enacted as Public Law 98-369 on July 18, 1984.

The Subcommittee on Trade conducts annual oversight of the major Federal trade agencies and program within Committee jurisdiction through budget hearings and the consideration of legislation authorizing appropriations for the U.S. Customs Service, the U.S. International Trade Commission, and the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative. The Committee reported authorizing legislation for fiscal year 1985 (H.R. 5188) on April 5, 1984, which passed the House on May 1, and was included as agreed with the Senate as Title VII of the Trade and Tariff Act of 1984.

Finally, the Subcommittee on Trade conducted active oversight through extensive hearings or consultations on other trade issues, including the causes, implications, and possible solutions of the U.S. trade deficit, on the United States-Japan bilateral trade relationship, and on trade developments and emigration policies of Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and People's Republic of China.

Subcommittee on Social Security

The Committee approved two major pieces of Social Security legislation in the 98th Congress, the Social Security Amendments of 1983 to restore the financing of the system, and the Social Security Disability Benefits Reform Act of 1984, to reform the disability benefits review process. The Committee also approved legislation to guarantee payment of the January 1985 cost-of-living benefit increase, and to restore the solvency of the Railroad Retirement System.

In response to the major financing problems facing the Social Security cash benefit programs, the Committee on Ways and Means conducted public hearings throughout February 1983, and then began development of H.R. 1900, which was enacted into law on April 20, 1983, as Public Law 98-21. The amendments contain the following major provisions: (1) Coverage under Social Security of Federal workers hired after December 1983, and of all current and future employees of nonprofit organizations; (2) Elimination of the option to withdraw from Social Security for State and local government entities; (3) A "windfall" benefit formula providing reduced Social Security benefits for workers with pensions from employment not covered by Social Security; (4) Delay in payment of the July 1983 benefit increase to January 1984; (5) Taxation of half of the Social Security benefits for beneficiaries with incomes over certain levels ($25,000/year for single individuals, $32,000/year for couples); (6) Acceleration of the 1985 payroll tax increase to 1984, and part of the increase scheduled for 1990 to 1988, with a tax credit for employees in the amount of the 1984 increase; (7) Increase in the self-employment tax rate to twice the employee rate, combined with a tax credit partially offsetting the increase; (8) Provision for automatic payment of a COLA based on the lower of wages or prices in any year in which trust fund reserves fall below 20 percent; (9) Lump-sum reimbursement to the trust funds in 1983 for accrued military wage credits; (10) Increase in the retirement age for full benefits over the period from 2000 to 2027 to age 67, resulting in age 62 benefits of 70 percent of full benefits.

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The Committee also reported legislation designed to restore solvency to the Railroad Retirement System. Specifically, the Committee reported the Railroad Retirement Solvency Act (Public Law 98–76) which increased payroll taxes paid by rail employers and employees and subjected railroad retirement tier II benefits to taxation. In addition, this legislation provided for a report from an independent commission concerning proposals to solve the Railroad Unemployment Compensation System's financial problems.

The Committee, through the Subcommittee on Social Security, developed major disability insurance reform amendments in 1983, which were approved by the Committee and enacted into law in 1984 as Public Law 98–460. Beginning in 1981, the Social Security Administration began an accelerated implementation of the requirement enacted in 1980. As a result, almost 400,000 disability beneficiaries were informed that they were no longer eligible for benefits, although almost half that number were restored to the benefit rolls through the appeals process. By 1983, many State governments were beginning to protest the implementation of these reviews, and hearings by the Committee on Ways and Means in June 1983 revealed a strong need for legislation.

As a result of the widespread dissatisfaction with the way in which reviews were being conducted, the Committee on Ways and Means developed legislation, H.R. 3755, which provides clear standards of review for examining the eligibility of current beneficiaries, as well as other reforms. This legislation contains the following major provisions: (1) Clarifies standards for review of current disability beneficiaries, and requires in most cases continuation of benefits where the individual's condition has not medically improved; (2) Provides a moratorium on review of beneficiaries with mental impairments until new medical standards are promulgated through regulations, and provides continuation of benefits throughout the appeals process; (3) Requires SSA to publish disability policy according to the notice and comment requirements of the Administrative Procedure Act, and encourages, through conference report language, acquiescence in Federal circuit court of appeals decisions.

The Committee also approved legislation, enacted on October 30, 1984 as Public Law 98–604, to ensure payment of the January 1985 social security cost-of-living increase whether or not the rate of inflation exceeded the 3-percent level required in the law for payment of an increase.

Subcommittee on Oversight

As part of the Subcommittee on Oversight's responsibility to evaluate the impact of present law tax rules and programs within the Committee's jurisdiction, hearings and oversight activities were conducted in the following subject areas: Federal leasing practices, the tax treatment of oil and gas producers, private foundations, poverty rate increases, research and development source allocation rules, public employee pension benefit plans, the timing and measurement of taxpayer deductions for obligations to be paid in the future, the financial status of the single employer insurance program, the effect of changes in capital asset ownership on medicare costs, the tax treatment of low-income persons, disclaimers of prop-

erty interests created by transfers, ethanol fuels, the incremental research tax credit, child abuse and day care, and the overall administration of the tax laws by the Internal Revenue Service.

Subcommittee on Select Revenue Measures

The Committee, through its Subcommittee on Select Revenue Measures, considered and acted upon a number of major issues.

The Subcommittee on Select Revenue Measures completed a major overhaul of the taxation of life insurance companies. The Subcommittee held hearings on the issue on May 10, 11, and July 28, 1983. On October 3, 1983, H.R. 4065, to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to simplify and improve the income tax treatment of life insurance companies and their products, was reported to the full Committee by the Subcommittee on Select Revenue Measures. The Committee on Ways and Means subsequently approved H.R. 4065 with amendments. This legislation was enacted into law in the Deficit Reduction Act of 1984 (secs. 201–231 of Public Law 98–369).

The Subcommittee on Select Revenue Measures continued the Committee's oversight of the development of permanent rules governing the tax treatment of employee fringe benefits. In light of the imminent expiration of the moratorium on the issuance of regulations governing the tax treatment of nonstatutory fringe benefits on December 31, 1983, the Subcommittee held a public hearing on H.R. 3525, the Permanent Tax Treatment of Fringe Benefits Act of 1983. The Committee on Ways and Means subsequently approved H.R. 3525 with amendments. This legislation was finally enacted into law in the Deficit Reduction Act of 1984 (sec. 531 of Public Law 98–369).

In addition, the Subcommittee on Select Revenue Measures, in conjunction with the Subcommittee on Social Security, held a public hearing on the economics and distribution of statutory employee fringe benefits.

The Subcommittee on Select Revenue Measures continued to review expiring provisions in the tax law. The targeted jobs credit which would have expired on January 1, 1985, was the subject of a hearing before the Subcommittee. The targeted jobs credit was extended for 1 year as part of the Deficit Reduction Act of 1984 (sec. 1041 of Public Law 98–369).

The Subcommittee on Select Revenue Measures held a hearing on the exclusion from income and employment taxes for employee educational assistance, which was scheduled to expire December 31, 1984. The Committee approved a 2-year extension of the exclusion through December 31, 1985, in H.R. 2568, with amendments to cap the amount of excludable benefits to $5,000 per employee per year and to impose an employer reporting requirement to the Internal Revenue Service. The bill was finally enacted into law as Public Law 98–611.

The Subcommittee on Select Revenue Measures held a hearing on the exclusion from income and employment taxes for qualified group legal services and the exemption for qualified group legal services plans which were scheduled to expire December 31, 1984. The Committee approved a 1-year extension through December 31, 1985, of both the exclusion and the exemption as part of H.R. 5361.

In addition, an employer reporting requirement to the Internal Revenue Service was imposed. The bill was finally enacted into law as Public Law 98–612.

The Subcommittee on Select Revenue Measures held a hearing on November 3, 1983, on the tax treatment of payments made under the PIK program. The Subcommittee approved on November 9, 1983, an extension of the special tax rules for the PIK program. The treatment, however, was to be available only for up to $50,000 worth of PIK commodities. The full Committee adopted these provisions as an amendment to H.R. 4170. This provision was finally enacted into law in the Deficit Reduction Act of 1984 (sec. 1061 of Public Law 98–369).

The Subcommittee on Select Revenue Measures held a hearing on September 22, 1983, on the carryover of net operating losses and other attributes of corporations. The Subcommittee reviewed the issue of whether the effective date of the 1976 Tax Reform Act revisions to sections 382 and 383 (relating to the carryover of corporate net operating losses and other corporate attributes should be further delayed). The Subcommittee agreed to postpone the effective date until November 1, 1984. This provision was adopted as an amendment to H.R. 4170 by the Committee on Ways and Means. The conference committee subsequently approved an amendment to H.R. 4170 that would extend the moratorium on the 1976 amendments to section 382 until December 31, 1985. This provision was enacted into law in the Defict Reduction Act of 1984 (sec. 62 of Public Law 98–369).

The Subcommittee on Select Revenue Measures also approved the following miscellaneous bills which were embodied in Public Law 98–369: H.R. 676, H.R. 1607, H.R. 2476, H.R. 2504, H.R. 2697, H.R. 2831, H.R. 3030, H.R. 3096, H.R. 3173, H.R. 3212, H.R. 3529, H.R. 3592, H.R. 3593, and H.R. 5094.

Subcommittee on Health

In the area of health, major legislation affecting Medicare was enacted during the 98th Congress. The most significant Medicare changes were enacted as part of the Social Security Amendments of 1983 (Public Law 98–21) and the Deficit Reduction Act of 1984 (Public Law 98–369). The Medicare provisions of these laws, which were the result of a series of hearings and oversight work conducted by the Committee and particularly its Subcommittee on Health, provided over 60 changes in the Medicare program.

Public Law 98–21 changed the method by which Medicare reimburses hospitals for costs they incur in providing services to Medicare beneficiaries. Historically, services had been reimbursed on a retrospectively determined reasonable cost basis. In contrast, Public Law 98–21 established a prospective fixed price payment system for hospitals. Unless excluded from the prospective payment system, all Medicare participating hospitals are being paid a specific amount for inpatient services provided to Medicare beneficiaries based on the patient's classification into one of 469 diagnosis related groups (DRG's). The law provides for a 3-year transition period during which a declining portion of the total prospective payment will be based on a hospital's historical costs and an increasing portion will be based on a combination of regional and na-

tional DRG rates. In the fourth year of the program and thereafter, Medicare payments will be determined totally using the national DRG payment method.

Public Law 98–369 provided for: a 15-month Medicare physician fee freeze; participating physician arrangements; refinements of the prospective payment system; fee schedules for outpatient diagnostic clinical laboratory services; part B payment for services of teaching physicians; coverage of the administration of hepatitis B vaccine for individuals at high risk; coverage of the hemophilia clotting factor; pacemaker reimbursement reform; limits on payments for certain foot care services; waivers for social HMO projects; changes in part B premium calculations; reforms in reimbursement respecting revaluation of capital assets acquired by hospitals and nursing homes; modification of the cost reimbursement methods for contractors carrying out Medicare claims processing and limited authority for competitively bid contracts for program administration; modification of the working aged provision; amendments to the peer review organization legislation and other administrative and minor changes.

In addition, two other pieces of legislation were approved by the Committee which affected the hospice program under Medicare. They were Public Law 98–90 which established an annual hospice payment "cap" at $6,500 to be indexed by the medical component of the Consumer Price Index, and Public Law 98–617 which increased the payment rates for routine home care and other services.

The Committee held hearings and considered legislation on issues relating to organ procurement and transplantation; health insurance for the unemployed; medical liability reform; and methods of protecting beneficiaries under the Social Security Act health care programs from unfit health care practitioners and otherwise to improve the anti-fraud provisions of that act.

The Committee gave extensive consideration, by holding a special Medicare conference and through the hearing process, to the Medicare financing crisis and recommendations for financing reform. In addition, consideration was given to cost control proposals, including those which would establish "all-payer" reimbursement systems, and proposals to expand the Medicare benefit package.

Subcommittee on Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation

During the 98th Congress major changes were made in programs within the jurisdiction of the Subcommittee on Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation.

In the Deficit Reduction Act of 1984 (Public Law 98–369), a number of amendments were made to the Aid to Families With Dependent Children (AFDC) program. The major amendments were: extending the disregard of $30 in earnings from 4 months to 12 months; applying the $75 disregard of earnings to part time workers; and continuing Medicaid coverage for 9 months for families that lose AFDC eligibility, and consequently Medicaid benefits, because of the 4-month limitation on the disregard of earnings.

Congress passed the Child Support Enforcement Amendments of 1984 (Public Law 98–378), which strengthened the child support en-

forcement and paternity establishment program. The act requires States to implement effective enforcement procedures and provides incentives to States to make child support services available to both AFDC and non-AFDC families. Major provisions include a requirement that States provide for the mandatory withholding of wages when child support payments are 1 month overdue and provide for a revamped system of Federal incentive payments to States to encourage child support enforcement efforts.

Amendments to the Supplemental Security Income (SSI) program were enacted as part of the Social Security Amendments of 1983 (Public Law 98-21). Under the act, the Federal SSI benefits standard was increased by $20 for single individuals and $30 for couples effective July 1, 1983. The Deficit Reduction Act of 1984 (Public Law 98-369) increased the countable assets limit in SSI from $1,500 to $2,000 for an individual and from $2,250 to $3,000 for a couple. The increase will be phased in over a 5-year period beginning in 1985. The Social Security Disability Reform Act of 1984 (Public Law 98-460) extends through June 30, 1987 the provisions of section 1619 that allow for the continuation of SSI benefits and/or Medicaid for disabled individuals who are able to work in spite of their disability.

The Federal Supplemental Compensation Amendments of 1983 (Public Law 98-118) increased the statutory funding ceiling for the Title XX social services block grant to $2.7 billion. Public Law 98-617 extended for 1 year, to September 30, 1985, the authority for States to claim Federal matching for children placed in foster care under voluntary placement agreements and the provision that allows States to transfer funds allocated to them for foster care under Title IV-E to use for child welfare services under Title IV-B of the Social Security Act.

The Federal Unemployment Compensation (FSC) program was extended from April 1, 1983, through September 30, 1983, as part of the Social Security Amendments of 1983 (Public Law 98-21). In addition, the act provided for incentives for States with outstanding Federal unemployment compensation loans to improve the solvency of their unemployment trust funds. The FSC program was extended again from September 30, 1983, through March 31, 1985, by the Federal Supplemental Compensation Amendments of 1983 (Public Law 98-135).

The Railroad Retirement Solvency Act of 1983 (Public Law 98-76) amends the railroad unemployment compensation system by repealing the authority for the rail unemployment program to borrow from the rail pension fund effective September 30, 1985; increasing railroad unemployment taxes by 50 percent effective January 1, 1984; implementing a Federal repayment tax beginning on July 1, 1986, to be used to repay the loans of the railroad unemployment program from the rail pension fund; and establishing a Railroad Unemployment Compensation Committee to make recommendations to the Congress on ways to assure the long range solvency of the railroad unemployment compensation program.

II. JURISDICTION OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

U.S. CONSTITUTION

Article I, Section 7, of the Constitution of the United States provides as follows:

All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

RULE X, CLAUSE 1, RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Rule X, Clause 1, of the Rules of the House of Representatives, in effect during the 98th Congress, provides for the jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means, as follows:

(v) Committee on Ways and Means.

(1) Customs, collection districts, and ports of entry and delivery.

(2) Reciprocal trade agreements.

(3) Revenue measures generally.

(4) Revenue measures relating to the insular possessions.

(5) The bonded debt of the United States (subject to the last sentence of clause 4(g) of this rule).[1]

(6) The deposit of public moneys.

(7) Transportation of dutiable goods.

(8) Tax-exempt foundations and charitable trusts.

(9) National social security, except (A) health care and facilities programs that are supported from general revenues as opposed to payroll deductions and (B) work incentive programs.

BRIEF DISCUSSION OF FEATURES OF JURISDICTION

The foregoing recitation of the bare provisions of House Rule X, clause 1, paragraph (v), does not convey to the layman the real meaning of the features of the jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means. In order that this may be more readily appreciated, this jurisdiction may be described as follows: [2]

(1) *Federal revenue measures generally.*—The Committee on Ways and Means has the responsibility for raising all of the revenue (with quite minor exceptions) required to finance the whole range of activities of the Federal Government. This includes the personal and corporate income taxes, excise taxes, estate taxes, gift taxes, and other miscellaneous taxes, as well as jurisdiction over borrowing within the debt ceiling which will be described below.

(2) *The bonded debt of the United States.*—The Committee on Ways and Means also has jurisdiction over the extent of the authority of the Federal Government to borrow money within the

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[1] The last sentence of clause 4(g) requires the Committee on Ways and Means to include in its annual March 15 report to the Budget Committee a specific recommendation as to the appropriate level of the public debt which would then be set forth in the concurrent resolution on the budget and serve as the basis for an increase or decrease in the statutory limit on the debt.

[2] This is not intended to be a technically complete or comprehensive description.

Federal debt ceiling as set forth in section 21 of the Second Liberty Bond Act, the so-called Federal debt ceiling. In this regard, the permanent Federal debt ceiling, as of the close of the 98th Congress, is set at $1,823.8 billion. This jurisdiction also extends to debt management techniques such as the Savings Bond program and authority to issue long-term bonds at interest rates in excess of the statutory limit of 4¼ percent. At the end of the 98th Congress, that authority was limited to $200 billion outstanding and held by the public.

(3) *National social security programs.*—The Committee on Ways and Means has jurisdiction over most of the programs authorized by the Social Security Act, which includes not only those programs that are normally referred to colloquially as "social security" but also social insurance programs and a whole series of grant-in-aid programs to State governments for a variety of purposes. The Social Security Act, as amended, contains 20 titles (a few of which have either expired or have been repealed), covering more than 680 pages of existing law in one compilation. The principal programs established by the Social Security Act and under the jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means in the 98th Congress can be outlined as follows:

(a) Old-age, survivors, and disability insurance (title II)—At present, there are about 120 million workers in employment covered by the program, and as of September 1984 benefits were being paid at a $172.7 billion annual rate to about 36.3 million persons.

(b) Medicare (title XVIII)—Provides hospital insurance benefits to 26.2 million persons over age 65 and to 2.9 million disabled persons. Voluntary supplementary medical insurance is provided to 26 million aged persons and 2.6 million disabled persons. Expenditures under these programs were $56.9 billion in fiscal year 1983 and are expected to reach $65.6 billion in fiscal year 1984.

(c) Supplemental security income (title XVI)—The SSI program was inaugurated in January 1974 under the provisions of Public Law 92-603, as amended. It replaced the former Federal-State programs for the needy aged, blind, and disabled. In September 1984, approximately 4 million people received federally administered benefits under the SSI program. Of these, 1.6 million received benefits on the basis of age, 78,000 were blind, and 2.4 million were disabled. Total federally administered payments during calendar year 1983 amounted to approximately $9.5 billion, of which $7.5 billion were basic Federal benefits and $2 billion were federally administered State supplements to the payments.

(d) Aid to families with dependent children (title IV)—This program provides grants-in-aid to States for aid to families with dependent children and child welfare services. About 10.7 million people in 3.7 million families received AFDC benefits during fiscal year 1983. Total AFDC payments in fiscal year 1983 were approximately $13.5 billion.

(e) Social services (title XX)—Title XX authorizes the Federal Government to reimburse the States for money spent to provide persons with various services. Generally, the specific serv-

ices provided are determined by each State. The statutory ceiling on Federal matching funds available to the States for fiscal year 1985 is $2.7025 billion. These funds are allocated on the basis of population.

(f) Unemployment compensation programs (titles II, IX, etc.)—these titles include the State unemployment compensation programs and the permanent extended benefits program. In fiscal year 1984, an estimated $16.8 billion was paid in unemployment compensation benefits, with approximately 7.7 million workers receiving unemployment benefits.

(4) *Trade and tariff legislation.*—The Committee on Ways and Means currently has, and has always had, responsibility over legislation relating to tariffs and import trade. In the early days of the Republic, tariff and customs receipts were major sources of revenue for the Federal Government. Throughout our history the question of trade policy has been one of the more vital and controversial areas of American politics and American economic policy. The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Acts beginning in 1934, the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, the Trade Act of 1974, the Trade Agreements Act of 1979, and most recently, the Trade and Tariff Act of 1984, have formed the basis for our bargaining with other countries for the mutual reduction of tariff and other trade barriers and measures affording domestic industries and workers relief from increased import competition and foreign unfair trade practices. At the present time, the trade policy of the United States is drawing the very close and serious attention of those within and without the Government. The total amount of our foreign trade during 1984 exceeded $550 billion, with a record trade deficit of $123 billion.

The committee, in the 98th Congress, exercised it jurisdiction over bills referred to it in the above areas and its oversight responsibilities through six subcommittees. These subcommittees are the Subcommittee on Trade, the Subcommittee on Social Security, the Subcommittee on Oversight, the Subcommittee on Select Revenue Measures, the Subcommittee on Health, and the Subcommittee on Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation. The memberships of these subcommittees in the 98th Congress were as follows:

SUBCOMMITTEE ON TRADE

SAM M. GIBBONS, Florida, *Chairman*

DAN ROSTENKOWSKI, Illinois
JAMES R. JONES, Oklahoma
ED JENKINS, Georgia
THOMAS J. DOWNEY, New York
DON J. PEASE, Ohio
KENT HANCE, Texas
CECIL (CEC) HEFTEL, Hawaii
MARTY RUSSO, Illinois

GUY VANDER JAGT, Michigan
BILL ARCHER, Texas
BILL FRENZEL, Minnesota
RICHARD T. SCHULZE, Pennsylvania
PHILIP M. CRANE, Illinois

Subcommittee on Social Security

J. J. Pickle, Texas, *Chairman*

Andy Jabcobs, Jr., Indiana
Richard A. Gephardt, Missouri
James M. Shannon, Massachusetts
Wyche Fowler, Jr., Georgia
Robert T. Matsui, California
Beryl Anthony, Jr., Arkansas
Bill Archer, Texas
Bill Gradison, Ohio
Philip M. Crane, Illinois
William M. Thomas, California

Subcommittee on Oversight

Charles B. Rangel, New York, *Chairman*

Sam M. Gibbons, Florida
J. J. Pickle, Texas
Frank J. Guarini, New Jersey
Beryl Anthony, Jr., Arkansas
Ronnie G. Flippo, Alabama
Byron L. Dorgan, North Dakota
James G. Martin, North Carolina
John J. Duncan, Tennessee
Carroll A. Campbell, Jr., South Carolina
William M. Thomas, California

Subcommittee on Select Revenue Measures

Fortney H. (Pete) Stark, California, *Chairman*

Cecil (Cec) Heftel, Hawaii
Frank J. Guarini, New Jersey
Ronnie G. Flippo, Alabama
Byron L. Dorgan, North Dakota
Barbara B. Kennelly, Connecticut
Ed Jenkins, Georgia
John J. Duncan, Tennessee
Richard T. Schulze, Pennsylvania
Guy Vander Jagt, Michigan
W. Henson Moore, Louisiana

Subcommittee on Health

Andy Jacobs, Jr., Indiana, *Chairman*

Charles B. Rangel, New York
Harold Ford, Tennessee
James M. Shannon, Massachusetts
Marty Russo, Illinois
W. Henson Moore, Louisiana
John J. Duncan, Tennessee
James G. Martin, North Carolina

Subcommittee on Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation

Harold Ford, Tennessee, *Chairman*

Fortney H. (Pete) Stark, California
Don J. Pease, Ohio
Kent Hance, Texas
Robert T. Matsui, California
Wyche Fowler, Jr., Georgia
Barbara B. Kennelly, Connecticut
Carroll A. Campbell, Jr., South Carolina
W. Henson Moore, Louisiana
Bill Frenzel, Minnesota
William M. Thomas, California

III. HISTORICAL NOTE

A Committee on Ways and Means was first established as an ad hoc committee in the first session of the First Congress, on July 24, 1789. Mr. Fitzsimons, from Pennsylvania, in commenting on the report of a select committee concerning appropriations and revenues, pointed out the desirability of having a committee to review the expenditure needs of the Government and the resources available, as follows:

> The finances of America have frequently been mentioned in this House as being very inadequate to the demands. I have never been of a different opinion, and do believe that the funds of this country, if properly drawn into operation, will be equal to every claim. The estimate of supplies necessary for the current year appears very great from a report on your table, and which report has found its way into the public newspapers. I said, on a former occasion, and I repeat it now, notwithstanding what is set forth in the estimate, that a revenue of $3 million in specie, will enable us to provide every supply necessary to support the Government, and pay the interest and installments on the foreign and domestic debt. If we wish to have more particular information on these points, we ought to appoint a Committee of Ways and Means, to whom, among other things, the estimate of supplies may be referred, and this ought to be done speedily, if we mean to do it this session.

After discussion, the motion was agreed to and the following committee was appointed: Messrs. Fitzsimons (Pennsylvania), Vining (Delaware), Livermore (New Hampshire), Cadwalader (New Jersey), Laurance (New York), Wadsworth (Connecticut), Jackson (Georgia), Smith (Maryland), Smith (South Carolina), and Madison (Virginia).

While there does not appear to be any direct relationship, it is interesting to note that the appointments of this ad hoc committee came within a few weeks after the House, in Committee of the Whole, had spent a good part of the months of April, May, and June in wrestling with the details involved in writing bills "for laying a duty on goods, wares and merchandises imported into the United States" and for imposing duties on tonnage. Tariffs, of course, became a prime revenue source for the new government.

However, the results of this ad hoc committee are not clear. It existed for a period of only 8 weeks, being dissolved on September 17, 1789, with the following order:

> That the Committee on Ways and Means be discharged from further proceeding on the business referred to them,

and that it be referred to the Secretary of the Treasury to report thereon.

It has also been suggested by one student that the committee was dissolved because Alexander Hamilton had become Secretary of the Treasury and thus it was presumed that the Treasury Department could provide the necessary machinery for developing information which would be needed. During the next 6 years there was no Ways and Means Committee or any other standing committee for the examination of estimates. Rather, ad hoc committees were appointed to draw up particular pieces of legislation on the basis of decisions made in the Committee of the Whole House. On November 13, 1794, a rule was adopted providing that:

> All proceedings touching appropriations of money shall be first moved and discussed in a Committee on the Whole House.

In the next Congress historians have suggested that the House was determined to curtail Secretary Hamilton's influence by first setting up a Committee on Ways and Means and requiring that committee to submit a report on appropriations and revenue measures before consideration in the Committee of the Whole House. It was also said that this Ways and Means Committee was put on a more or less standing basis since such a committee appeared at some point in every Congress until it was made a permanent committee.

In the first session of the 7th Congress Tuesday, December 8, 1801, a resolution was adopted as follows:

> *Resolved,* That a standing Committee of Ways and Means be appointed, whose duty it shall be to take into consideration all such reports of the Treasury Department, and all such propositions, relative to the revenue as may be referred to them by the House; to inquire into the state of the public debt, of the revenue, and of the expenditures; and to report, from time to time, their opinion thereon.

The following Members were appointed: Messrs. Randolph (Virginia), Griswold (Connecticut), Smith (Vermont), Bayard (Delaware), Smilie (Pennsylvania), Read (Massachusetts), Nicholson (Maryland), Van Rensselaer (New York), Dickson (Tennessee).

On Thursday, January 7, 1802, the House agreed to standing rules which, among other things, provided for standing committees, including the Committee on Ways and Means. The relevant part of the rules in this respect read as follows:

> A Committee of Ways and Means, to consist of seven members;
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> It shall be the duty of the said Committee of Ways and Means to take into consideration all such reports of the Treasury Department, and all such propositions relative to the revenue, as may be referred to them by the House; to inquire into the state of the public debt, of the revenue, and of the expenditures, and to report, from time to time, their opinion thereon; to examine into the state of the sev-

> eral public departments, and particularly into the laws making appropriations of moneys, and to report whether the moneys have been disbursed conformably with such laws; and also to report, from time to time, such provisions and arrangements, as may be necessary to add to the economy of the departments, and the accountability of their officers.

It has been said that the jurisdiction of the committee was so broad in the early 19th century that one historian described it as follows:

> It seemed like an Atlas bearing upon its shoulders all the business of the House.

The jurisdiction of the committee remained essentially the same until 1865 when the control over appropriations was transferred to a newly created Committee on Appropriations and another part of its jurisdiction was given to a newly created Committee on Banking and Currency. This action followed rather extended discussion in the House, too lengthy to review here.

During the course of that discussion, however, the following observations are of some historical interest. Mr. Cox, who was handling the motion to divide the committee, gave a very picturesque discussion of the many varied and heavy duties which had fallen on the committee over the years. He observed:

> And yet, sir, powerful as the committee is constituted, even their powers of endurance, physical and mental, are not adequate to the great duty which has been imposed by the emergencies of this historic time. It is an old adage, that "whoso wanteth rest will also want of might"; and even an Olympian would faint and flag if the burden of Atlas is not relieved by the broad shoulders of Hercules.

He continued:

> I might give here a detailed statement of the amount of business thrown upon that committee since the commencement of the war. But I prefer to append it to my remarks. Whereas before the war we scarcely expended more than $70 million a year, now, during the five sessions of the last two Congresses, there has been an average appropriation of at least $800 million per session. The statement which I hold in my hand shows that during the first and extra session of the 37th Congress there came appropriation bills from the Committee on Ways and Means amounting to $226,691,457.99. I say nothing now of the loan and other fiscal bills emanating from that committee. * * * During the present session I suppose it would be a fair estimate to take the appropriations of the last session of the 37th Congress, say $900 million.
>
> These are appropriation bills alone. They are stupendous, and but poorly symbolize the immense labors which the internal revenue, tariff, and loan bills imposed on the committee. * * * And this business of appropriations is perhaps not one-half of the labor of the committee. There

> are various and important matters upon which they act, but upon which they never report. Their duties comprehend all the varied interests of the United States; every element and branch of industry, and every dollar or dime of value. They are connected with taxation, tariffs, banking, loan bills, and ramify to every fiber of the body-politic. All the springs of wealth and labor are more or less influenced by the action of this committee. Their responsibility is immense, and their control almost imperial over the necessities, comforts, homes, hopes, and destinies of the people. All the values of the United States, which in the census of 1860 (page 194) amount to nearly $17 billion, or, to be exact, $16,159,616,068, are affected by the action of that committee, even before their action is approved by the House. Those values fluctuate whenever the head of the Ways and Means rises in his place and proposes a measure. The price of every article we use trembles when he proposes a gold bill or a loan bill, or any bill to tax directly or indirectly. * * *
>
> * * * the interests connected with these economical questions are of all questions those most momentous for the future. Parties, statesmanship, union, stability, all depend upon the manner in which these questions are dealt with.

Congressman Morrill (who was subsequently appointed chairman of the Ways and Means Committee in the succeeding Congress, and who still later became chairman of the Senate Finance Committee after he became a Senator) observed as follows:

> I am entirely indifferent as to the disposition which shall be made of this subject by the House. So far as I am myself concerned, I have never sought any position upon any committee from the present or any other Speaker of the House, and probably never shall. I have no disposition to press myself hereafter for any position. In relation to the proposed division of the Committee on Ways and Means, the only doubt that I have is the one expressed by my colleague on that committee, Mr. Stevens, in regard to the separation of the questions of revenue from those relating to appropriations. In ordinary times of peace I should deem it almost indispensable and entirely within their power that this committee should have the control of both subjects, in order that they might make both ends meet, that is, to provide a sufficient revenue for the expenditures. That reason applies now with greater force; but it may be that the committee is overworked. It is true that for the last 3 or 4 years the labors of the Committee on Ways and Means have been incessant, they have labored not only days but nights; not only weekends but Sundays. If gentlemen suppose that the committee have permitted some appropriations to be reported which should not have been permitted they little understand how much has been resisted.

The influence the committee emanated came not only from the nature of its jurisdiction but also because for many years the chairman of the committee was also ad hoc majority floor leader of the House.

When the revolt against Speaker Cannon took place, and the Speaker's powers to appoint the members of committees was curtailed, the Democrats on the Committee on Ways and Means became the Democratic Committee on Committees.

Subsequently, however, in a change adopted by the Democratic Caucus in organizing the 94th Congress, the Caucus Steering and Policy Committee assumed the functions of the Committee on Committees and has retained them to this time.

Throughout its history, many famous Americans have served on the Committee on Ways and Means. The long and distinguished list includes 7 Presidents of the United States 8 Vice-Presidents, 8 additional Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates, 4 Justices of the Supreme Court, at least 30 Cabinet officers, and quite interestingly, 21 Speakers of the House of Representatives. This latter figure represents nearly one-half of the 47 Speakers who have served since 1789 through the end of the 98th Congress. See the alphabetical list which follows for names.

Major positions held by former members of the Committee on Ways and Means

President of the United States:
- Millard Fillmore, New York
- James A. Garfield, Ohio
- Andrew Jackson, Tennessee
- James Madison, Virginia
- William McKinley, Jr., Ohio
- James K. Polk, Tennessee
- John Tyler, Virginia

Vice President of the United States:
- John C. Breckinridge, Kentucky
- George Bush, Texas
- Charles Curtis, Kansas
- Millard Fillmore, New York
- John N. Garner, Texas
- Elbridge Gerry, Massachusetts
- Richard M. Johnson, Kentucky
- John Tyler, Virginia

Justice of the Supreme Court:
- Philip P. Barbour, Virginia
- Joseph McKenna, California
- John McKinley, Alabama
- Fred M. Vinson, Kentucky (Chief Justice)

Speaker of the House of Representatives:
- Nathaniel P. Banks Massachusetts
- Philip P. Barbour, Virginia
- John G. Carlisle, Kentucky
- Langdon Cheves, South Carolina
- Champ Clark, Missouri
- Howell Cobb, Georgia
- Charles F. Crisp, Georgia

John N. Garner, Texas
John W. Jones, Virginia
Michael C. Kerr, Indiana
Nicholas Longworth, Ohio
John W. McCormack, Massachusetts
James K. Polk, Tennessee
Henry T. Rainey, Illinois
Samuel J. Randall, Pennsylvania
Thomas B. Reed, Maine
Milton Sayler, Ohio
Theodore Sedgwick, Massachusetts
Andrew Stevenson, Virginia
John W. Taylor, New York
Robert C. Winthrop, Massachusetts

Cabinet Member:

Secretary of State:
William J. Bryan, Nebraska
Cordell Hull, Tennessee
Louis McLane, Delaware

Secretary of the Treasury:
George W. Campbell, Tennessee
John G. Carlisle, Kentucky
Howell Cobb, Georgia
Thomas Corwin, Ohio
Charles Foster, Ohio
Albert Gallatin, Pennsylvania
Samuel D. Ingham, Pennsylvania
Louis McLane, Delaware
Ogden L. Mills, New York
John Sherman, Ohio
Philip F. Thomas, Maryland
Fred M. Vinson, Kentucky

Secretary of War:
Roger Griswold, Connecticut

Attorney General:
Joseph McKenna, California
A. Mitchell Palmer, Pennsylvania
Caesar A. Rodney, Delaware

Postmaster General:
James M. Campbell, Pennsylvania
Samuel D. Hubbard, Connecticut
Cave Johnson, Tennessee
Horace Maynard, Tennessee

Secretary of the Navy:
Thomas W. Gilmer, Virginia
Hilary A. Herbert, Alabama
Victor H. Metcalf, California
Claude A. Swanson, Virginia

Secretary of the Interior:
Rogers C. B. Morton, Maryland
Jacob Thompson, Mississippi

Secretary of Commerce and Labor:
Victor H. Metcalf, California

IV. STATISTICAL REVIEW OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS IN THE 98th CONGRESS

A. Number of Bills and Resolutions Referred to the Committee

As of the close of the 98th Congress on October 12, 1984, there had been referred to the committee a total of 1,904 bills, representing more than 23 percent of all the public bills introduced in the House of Representatives.

The following table gives a more complete statistical review since 1963:

TABLE 1.—NUMBER OF BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS REFERRED TO THE COMMITTEE, 88TH THROUGH 98TH CONGRESSES

	Introduced in House	Referred to Committee on Ways and Means	Percentage
88th Congress	15,296	2,163	14.2
89th Congress	21,899	3,161	14.4
90th Congress	24,227	3,806	15.7
91st Congress	23,575	3,442	14.6
92d Congress	20,458	3,157	15.4
93d Congress	21,096	3,370	16.0
94th Congress	19,371	3,747	19.3
95th Congress	17,800	3,922	22.0
96th Congress	10,400	2,372	22.8
97th Congress	9,175	2,414	26.3
98th Congress	8,104	1,904	23.5

B. Public Hearings and Markup Sessions

In the course of the 98th Congress, the full Committee on Ways and Means held public hearings on a total of 31 days, including 17 in the first session and 14 days in the second session. During the first session, among the major subjects of hearings were recommendations of the National Commission on Social Security Reform, the Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Act, the Administration's views on the deficit and possible revenue increases, trends in municipal financing and use of tax-exempt bonds to finance private activities, revenue increase proposals, tax law simplification, the Economic Equity Act and related tax and pension reform, Federal tax treatment of capital gains and losses and tax incentives targeted to distressed areas. During the second session, among the principal subjects of the committee's public hearings were tax shelters, accounting abuses, and corporate and securities reforms, alternatives to the heavy vehicle use tax, budget treatment of the Federal Financing Bank, tax treatment of interest paid to foreign persons,

the Superfund Expansion and Protection Act, the Administration's request for an increase in the public debt limit, the Social Security cost-of-living increase, tax reform and deficit reduction, and the generation-skipping transfer tax.

The following table specifies in more detail the number of days, witnesses, and volumes published on each of the subjects covered by public hearings in the full committee in the 98th Congress:

TABLE 2.—PUBLIC HEARINGS CONDUCTED BY THE FULL COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

Subject and date	Number of—		
	Days	Witnesses	Volumes
1983:			
Recommendations of the National Commission on Social Security Reform, Feb. 1, 2, 3	3	17	1
Increasing the public debt limit and altering the budget treatment of programs financed through the Federal Financing Bank, May 12	1	8	1
Excise taxes to fund recreational boating safety and fish restoration and management programs and establishment of a U.S. Fish and Wildlife Fund, June 2	1	21	1
Governmental Leasing Tax Act of 1983, June 8	1	29	1
Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Act, June 9	1	18	1
Administration's views on the deficit and possible revenue increases for the next 3 fiscal years, June 14	1	1	1
Trends in municipal financing and use of tax-exempt bonds to finance private activities, June 15, 1€	2	44	1
Revenue increase proposals, July 20, 21	2	36	1
Tax Law Simplification and Improvement Act of 1983, July 25	1	22	1
Technical Corrections Act of 1983, Sept. 22	1	16	1
Economic Equity Act and related tax and pension reform, Oct. 25	1	42	1
Federal tax treatment of capital gains and losses, Nov. 2	1	24	1
Tax incentives targeted to distressed areas, Nov. 17	1	35	1
Total, 1983	17	313	13
1984:			
Tax shelters, accounting abuses, and corporate and securities reforms, Feb. 22, 28	2	56	1
Alternatives to the heavy vehicle use tax, Feb. 23	1	31	1
Budget treatment of the Federal Financing Bank, Apr. 4	1	12	1
Tax treatment of interest paid to foreign persons, May 1	1	33	1
Public debt limit, May 16	1	1	1
Superfund Expansion and Protection Act of 1984, July 25	1	42	1
Agriculture Trade and Export Commission Act (held jointly with Committees on Agriculture and Foreign Affairs), July 26	1	10	1
Administration's request for an increase in the public debt limit, Aug. 8	1	1	1
Social Security cost-of-living increase, Sept. 20	1	5	1
Tax reform and deficit reduction, Sept. 25, 26, 27	3	19	1
Generation-skipping transfer tax, Oct. 2	1	17	1
Total, 1984	14	227	11
Total for both sessions	31	540	24

The six subcommittees of the Committee on Ways and Means were also very active in conducting public hearings during the 98th Congress. The following table specifies in detail the number of days, witnesses, and volumes published by each of the subcommittees:

TABLE 3.—PUBLIC HEARINGS CONDUCTED BY THE SUBCOMMITTEES OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

Subject and date	Number of—		
	Days	Witnesses	Volumes
SUBCOMMITTEE ON TRADE			
1983:			
Fiscal Year 1984 trade agencies authorizations, Feb. 15	1	30	1
Results and followup of GATT ministerial meeting, Feb. 22	1	1	1
U.S.-Japan trade relations, Mar. 10; Apr. 21, 26, 1983	3	29	1
Options to improve the trade remedy laws, Mar. 16, 17; Apr. 13, 14, 19; May 4, 11	7	73	2
Certain tariff and trade bills, Apr. 27; May 5, 19	3	103	1
Buy American restriction in fiscal year 1983 supplemental appropriation on procurement of certain aircraft, June 13	1	3	1
Presidential recommendation to continue waivers applicable to Romania, Hungary, and the People's Republic of China, July 14	1	27	1
Possible renewal of the Generalized System of Preferences, Part 1, Aug. 3, 1983	1	20	1
Fair Practices in Automotive Products Act of 1983, Sept. 15	1	13	1
Extension of the International Coffee Agreement Act of 1980, Sept. 19	1	3	1
Proposed amendments to the countervailing duty law, Oct. 20	1	18	1
Miscellaneous tariff and trade bills, Nov. 15, 1983; June 21, 1984	2	59	1
1984:			
Fiscal Year 1985 trade agencies authorizations, Feb. 7	1	25	1
Possible renewal of the generalized system of preferences, Part 2, Feb. 8, 9	2	20	1
U.S. trade deficit, Mar. 28, 29; Apr. 5, 10, 12, 25	6	28	1
Problems of the U.S. steel industry, Apr. 26; May 2, 8; June 20; Aug. 3	5	54	1
Proposed United States-Israel free trade area, May 22; June 13, 14	3	50	1
Competitive conditions in the U.S. civil aircraft industry and forest products industry (held in Seattle, Wash.), July 9	1	7	1
Market expansion for U.S. produced wine, July 24			
Total	41	493	19
SUBCOMMITTEE ON SOCIAL SECURITY			
1983:			
Financing problems of the Social Security system, Feb. 4, 7, 8, 9	4	129	2
The Railroad Solvency Act of 1983: retirement and unemployment insurance issues (held jointly with Subcommittee on Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation), May 3	1	14	1
Social security disability insurance, June 30	1	26	1
1984:			
Status of continuing disability reviews (held in Boston, Mass., and Atlanta, Ga.), Feb. 24; Mar. 23	2	27	2
Social security disability reviews: the human costs (held jointly with Senate Special Committee on Aging) (held in Dallas, Tex., and Hot Springs, Ark.), Feb. 17; Mar. 24	2	26	2
Status of continuing disability reviews: social security disability cutoffs controversy (held jointly with House Select Committee on Aging) (held in Miami, Fla.), Apr. 30	1	8	1
Report on study of Social Security as an independent agency, July 30	1	19	1
Distribution and economics of employer-provided fringe benefits (held jointly with Subcommittee on Select Revenue Measures), Sept. 17, 19	2	27	1
Total	14	276	11
SUBCOMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT			
1983:			
Federal leasing practices, Feb. 28	1	15	1
Tax treatment of producers of oil and gas, May 5, 6	2	60	1
Tax rules governing private foundations, June 27, 28, 30	3	97	2
Poverty rate increase (held jointly with Subcommitee on Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation), Oct. 18; Nov. 3	2	17	1
Research and experimental source allocation rules, Oct. 26; Nov. 3	2	20	1

TABLE 3.—PUBLIC HEARINGS CONDUCTED BY THE SUBCOMMITTEES OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS—Continued

Subject and date	Number of—		
	Days	Witnesses	Volumes
Public employee pension benefit plans (held jointly with Committee on Education and Labor), Nov. 15	1	17	1
1984:			
Timing and measurement of taxpayer deductions for obligations to be paid in the future, Feb. 24	1	30	1
Financial status of the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation's single employer insurance program, Mar. 20	1	22	1
Effect of changes in capital asset ownership on medicare costs (held jointly with Subcommittee on Health), Mar. 21	1	21	1
Federal tax treatment of low-income persons, Apr. 12	1	5	1
Federal tax rules relating to disclaimer of property interests created by transfer, May 7	1	6	1
Census and designation of poverty and income (held jointly with Committee on Post Office and Civil Service), May 15	1	6	1
Tax incentives for the production and use of ethanol fuels (held in Sioux Falls, S.D.), July 9	1	23	1
Research and experimentation tax credit, Aug. 2, 3	2	45	1
Poverty rate increase for 1983 (held jointly with Subcommittee on Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation), Aug. 9; Sept. 20	2	5	1
Child abuse and day care (held jointly with House Select Committee on Family, Youth, and Children), Sept. 17	1	14	1
Total	23	403	17
SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT REVENUE MEASURES			
1983:			
Issues arising under the payment-in-kind program, Feb. 23	1	22	1
Crime Victims Compensation Trust Fund (held in Chicago, Ill.), Apr. 18	1	20	1
Tax treatment of life insurance, May 10, 11; July 28	3	54	1
Rules for the Federal tax treatment of fringe benefits, Aug. 1	1	30	1
Miscellaneous tax bills, Sept. 21; Nov. 3	2	48	1
Carryover of net operating losses and other tax attributes of corporations, Sept. 22	1	8	1
Payment-in-kind program, Nov. 3	1	9	1
Computer Contribution Act of 1983 (held in San Francisco, Calif.), Nov. 11	1	19	1
1984:			
Targeted jobs tax credit extension, Apr. 10	1	21	1
Exclusion for group legal services plans and miscellaneous tax bills, Apr. 12	1	25	1
Distribution and economics of employer-provided fringe benefits (held jointly with Subcommittee on Social Security), Sept. 17, 18	2	27	1
Miscellaneous tax bills, Oct. 3	1	34	1
Total	16	317	12
SUBCOMMITTEE ON HEALTH			
1983:			
Medicare hospital prospective payment system, Feb. 14, 15	2	43	1
Health insurance for the unemployed (held jointly with Subcommittee on Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation), June 17	1	23	1
Administration's proposed elimination of the Office of Direct Reimbursement at the Health Care Financing Administration, Sept. 14	1	15	1
Health Care Cost Control Act of 1983, Sept. 28	1	20	1
1984:			
National Organ Transplant Act, Feb. 9	1	20	1
Handicapped Independence Assistance Act of 1983, Feb. 27	1	14	1
Effect of changes in capital asset ownership on medicare costs (held jointly with Subcommittee on Oversight), Mar. 21	1	21	1
Medicare financing crisis: Recommendations of the Advisory Council on Social Security, Mar. 30	1	3	1
Alternative Medical Liability Act, June 28	1	21	1

TABLE 3.—PUBLIC HEARINGS CONDUCTED BY THE SUBCOMMITTEES OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS—Continued

Subject and date	Number of—		
	Days	Witnesses	Volumes
Medicare financing crisis and recommendations for medicare financial reforms, Sept. 13	1	26	1
Medicare and Medicaid Patient and Program Protection Act of 1984 (held jointly with Committee on Energy and Commerce), Sept. 18	1	10	1
Total	12	216	11
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AND UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION			
1983:			
Unemployment compensation issues, Feb. 8, 9	2	28	1
Elements in the report of the National Commission on Social Security Reform affecting SSI recipients, Feb. 9	1	5	1
Energy costs and low-income energy assistance (held jointly with House Committees on Energy and Commerce and Education and Labor), Feb. 24	1	13	1
The Railroad Solvency Act of 1983: retirement and unemployment insurance issues (held jointly with Subcommittee on Social Security), May 3	1	14	1
SSI disability issues (held in Hayward, Calif.), June 6	1	17	1
U.S.-Mexico border issues and the peso devaluation (held in McAllen, Tex.), June 10	1	17	1
Health insurance for the unemployed (held jointly with Subcommittee on Health), June 17	1	23	1
Child support enforcement legislation, July 14	1	28	1
AFDC and social service bills and related oversight issues, July 18	1	25	1
Supplemental Security Income legislation, Aug. 3	1	14	1
Extension of Federal Supplemental Compensation program and related unemployment compensation issues, Sept. 13	1	38	1
Poverty rate increase (held jointly with Subcommittee on Oversight), Oct. 18; Nov. 3	2	17	1
Welfare, social services, and unemployment issues: impact of Federal budget cuts (held in Atlanta, Ga.), Nov. 18	1	17	1
1984:			
Impact of Federal budget cuts on emergency food and shelter needs (held in Memphis, Tenn.), Apr. 9	1	20	1
Child welfare and foster care issues (held at Oakland, Calif.), Apr. 16	1	19	1
GAO analysis of the 1981 AFDC reduction, May 2	1	8	1
SSI Equitable Improvements and Reform Amendments of 1984, May 9	1	13	1
Child welfare and adoption assistance (held in Hartford, Conn.), June 1	1	15	1
Poverty rate increase for 1983 (held jointly with Subcommittee on Oversight), Aug. 9; Sept. 20	2	5	1
Proposals to improve the Federal-State unemployment insurance system, Sept. 12	1	30	1
Report of the Railroad Unemployment Compensation Committee, Sept. 18	1	10	1
AFDC quality control program, Oct. 3	1	7	1
Total	25	383	22
Total for all subcommittees	131	2,088	92

As can be seen from the foregoing statistics, during the 98th Congress the full committee and its six subcommittees held public hearings aggregating a grand total of 162 days, during which time 2,628 witnesses were heard resulting in the publication of 116 printed volumes of testimony. Included in this total are hearings which were jointly held by two or more subcommittees. These joint hearings comprised 18 days of testimony with 211 witnesses and resulted in 15 volumes of printed testimony.

In addition, written comments were printed after having been requested and received by the Subcommittee on Trade on H.R. 1571, the Reciprocal Trade and Investment Act of 1983, and H.R. 2848, the Service Industries Commerce Development Act of 1983, as well as several miscellaneous tariff and trade bills.

With respect to markup or business sessions during the 98th Congress, the full committee and its six subcommittees were also very actively engaged. The full committee held such sessions on 42 working days, usually both morning and afternoon sessions, and the subcommittees an aggregate of 48 working days, making a grand total of 90 working days of markup or business sessions for the committee and its subcommittees during the 98th Congress.

C. Number and Final Status of Bills Reported From the Committee on Ways and Means in the 98th Congress

During the 98th Congress the committee reported favorably to the House a total of 53 bills. Fifty-four bills containing provisions within the purview of the committee were passed by the House and 32 were enacted into law. It should be noted that this total is not at all indicative of the total number of bills considered by the committee, because when the committee goes into session on major tax, tariff, social security, health, unemployment compensation, or public assistance matters, it very often considers the broad subject rather than certain specific bills, and in the course of consideration of the subject makes every attempt to review all of the pertinent bills pending before the committee which are encompassed within that subject. Further, it is the practice of the committee normally to report bills on a major subject which may involve many, many sections containing subjects included in perhaps as many as several hundred bills pending before the committee.

Table 4.—*Status of bills reported by the committee in the 98th Congress*

Action:	*Total*
Bills reported to House	53
Bills passed House	54
Bills reported to Senate	13
Bills passed Senate	37
Bills enacted into law	[1] 32

[1] It should be noted that the above category, "Bills enacted into law," is not numerically comparable with or precisely reflective of the final legislative progress of the category, "Bills reported to House," as in some instances a single public law may include the provisions of several separately reported bills. In addition, bills not within the jurisdiction of the committee were passed by the House or enacted into law which included provisions within the purview of the committee.

V. CHAIRMEN OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS AND MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMITTEE FROM THE 1st THROUGH THE 98th CONGRESSES

A. Chairmen of the Committee on Ways and Means, 1789 to Present

Name	State	Party	Term of service
Thomas Fitzsimons	Pennsylvania	Federalist	1789 to 1795.
William Smith	South Carolina	do	1795 to 1797.
Robert G. Harper	do	do	1797 to 1799.
Roger Griswold	Connecticut	do	1799 to 1801.
John Randolph	Virginia	States Rights	1801 to 1805.
Joseph Clay	Pennsylvania	[1]	1805 to 1807.
George W. Campbell	Tennessee	Democrat	1807 to 1809.
John W. Eppes	Virginia	do	1809 to 1811.
Langdon Cheves	South Carolina	do	1811 to 1813.
John W. Eppes	Virginia	do	1813 to 1815.
William Lowndes	South Carolina	do	1815 to 1819.
Samuel Smith	Maryland	do	1819 to 1823.
Louis McLane	Delaware	do	1823 to 1827.
George McDuffie	South Carolina	do	1827 to 1831.
Gulian C. Verplanck	New York	do	1831 to 1833.
James K. Polk	Tennessee	do	1833 to 1835.
C. C. Cambreleng	New York	do	1835 to 1839.
John W. Jones	Virginia	do	1839 to 1841.
Millard Fillmore	New York	Whig	1841 to 1843.
James Iver McKay	North Carolina	Democrat	1843 to 1847.
Samuel F. Vinton	Ohio	Whig	1847 to 1849.
Thomas H. Bayly	Virginia	States Rights Democrat	1849 to 1851.
George S. Houston	Alabama	Democrat	1851 to 1855.
Lewis D. Campbell	Ohio	Whig	1855 to 1857.
J. Clancy Jones	Pennsylvania	Democrat	1857 to 1859.
John S. Phelps	Missouri	do	Do.
John Sherman	Ohio	Republican	1859 to 1861.
Thaddeus Stevens	Pennsylvania	do	July 1861 to March 1865.
Justin S. Morrill	Vermont	Whig	December 1865 to March 1867.
Robert C. Schenck	Ohio	Republican	January 1867 to March 1871.
Godlove S. Orth	Indiana	do	January 1871 to March 1871.
Henry L. Dawes	do	do	December 1871 to March 1875.
William R. Morrison	Illinois	Democrat	December 1875 to March 1877.
Fernando Wood	New York	do	October 1877 to March 1881.
William D. Kelly	Pennsylvania	Republican	December 1881 to March 1883.
William R. Morrison	Illinois	Democrat	December 1883 to March 1887.
Roger Q. Mills	Texas	do	January 1887 to March 1889.
William McKinley, Jr	Ohio	Republican	December 1891 to March 1893.
William L. Wilson	West Virginia	Democrat	August 1893 to March 1895.
Nelson Dingley, Jr	Maine	Republican	December 1895 to March 1899.
Sereno E. Payne	New York	do	December 1899 to March 1911.
Oscar W. Underwood	Alabama	Democrat	April 1911 to March 1915.
Claude Kitchin	North Carolina	do	December 1915 to March 1919.
Joseph W. Fordney	Michigan	Republican	May 1919 to March 1923.
William R. Green	Iowa	do	December 1923 to March 1929.
Willis C. Hawley	Oregon	do	April 1929 to March 1931.
James W. Collier	Mississippi	Democrat	December 1931 to March 1933.
Robert L. Doughton	North Carolina	do	March 1933 to 1947.

Name	State	Party	Term of service
Harold Knutson	Minnesota	Republican	1947 to 1948.
Robert L. Doughton	North Carolina	Democrat	1949 to 1952.
Daniel A. Reed	New York	Republican	1953 to 1954.
Jere Cooper	Tennessee	Democrat	1955 to 1957.
Wilbur D. Mills	Arkansas	do	1958 to 1974.
Al Ullman	Oregon	do	1975 to 1980.
Dan Rostenkowski	Illinois	do	1981 to

[1] Not known.

B. Tables Showing Past Membership of the Committee

I. MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS FROM THE 1ST THROUGH 98TH CONGRESS, BY STATE

	Congress
Alabama:	
John McKinley	23
David Hubbard	26
Dixon H. Lewis	27–28
George H. Houston	29–30, 32–33
James F. Dowdell	35
Hilary A. Herbert	48
Joseph Wheeler	53–55
Oscar W. Underwood	59–63
Ronnie G. Flippo	98–
Arkansas:	
James K. Jones	48
Clifton R. Breckinridge	49–51, 53
William A. Oldfield	64–70
Heartsill Ragon	70–73
Charles A Fuller	73–75
Wilbur D. Mills	78–94
Jim Guy Tucker	95
Beryl Anthony, Jr	97–
California:	
Joseph McKenna	51
Victor H. Metcalf	57–58
James Carson Needham	58–62
William E. Evans	73
Frank H. Buck	74–77
Bertrand W. Gearhart	76–80
Cecil R. King	78–79, 81–90
James B. Utt	83, 86–91
Jerry L. Pettis	91–94
William M. Ketchum	94–95
James C. Corman	90–96
John H. Rousselot	95–97
Fortney H. (Pete) Stark	94–
Robert T. Matsui	97–
William M. Thomas	98–
Colorado:	
Robert W. Bonynge	60
Charles B. Timberlake	66–72
John A. Carroll	81
Donald G. Brotzman	92–93

Connecticut:
Jermemiah Wadsworth 1
James Hillhouse 4
Nathaniel Smith 4–5
Joshua Coit 5
Roger Griswold 5–8
John Davenport 8
Jonathan O. Moseley 9, 14, 16
Benjamin Tallmadge 10–11
Timothy Pitkin 12–13, 15
Ralph I. Ingersoll 21–22, 24
Samuel D. Hubbard 30
James Phelps 45–46
Charles A. Russell 54–57
Ebenezer J. Hill 57–62, 64
John Q. Tilson 66–68
Antoni N. Sadlak 83–85
William R. Cotter 94–97
Barbara B. Kennelly 98–
Delaware:
John Vining 1
John Patten 4
James A. Bayard 5, 7
Caesar R. Rodney 8
Louis McLane 16–19
Florida:
A. S. Herlong, Jr 84–90
L. A. (Skip) Bafalis 94–97
Sam M. Gibbons 91–
Georgia:
James Jackson 1
Abraham Baldwin 4–5
Benjamin Taliaferro 6
John Milledge 7
David Meriwether 8–9
William W. Bibb 12–13
Joel Abbott 15
Joel Crawford 15–16
Wiley Thompson 17–18
George R. Gilmer 20
Richard H. Wilde 22–23
George W. Owens 24–25
Charles E. Haynes 25
Charles E. Webster 25
Mark A. Cooper 26
Asalom H. Chappell 28
Seaborn Jones 29
Robert Toombs 30–31
Alexander H. Stephens 30–31, 33
Marshall J. Wellborn 31
Howell Cobb 34
Martin J. Crawford 35–36

Benjamin H. Hill 44
Henry R. Harris 45, 49
William H. Felton 46
Emory Speer 47
James H. Blount 48
Henry G. Turner 50–54
Charles F. Crisp 54
James M. Griggs 60
William G. Brantley 61–62
Charles R. Crisp 64–72
A. Sidney Camp 78–83
Phil Landrum 89–94
Ed Jenkins 95–
Wyche Fowler, Jr 96–

Hawaii:
Cecil (Cec) Heftel 96–

Illinois:
Daniel P. Cook 19
John A. McClernand 37
John Wentworth 39
John A. Logan 40
Samuel S. Marshall 41
Horatio C. Burchard 42–45
William R. Morrison 44, 46–49
William M. Springer 52
Albert J. Hopkins 52–57
Henry S. Boutell 58–61
Henry T. Rainey 62–66, 68–72
John A. Sterling 65
Ira C. Copley 66–67
Carl R. Chindblom 68–72
Chester Thompson 74–75
Raymond S. McKeough 76–77
Charles S. Dewey 78
Thomas J. O'Brien 79, 81–88
Noah M. Mason 80–87
Harold Collier 88–93
Dan Rostenkowski 88–
Abner J. Mikva 94–96
Philip Crane 94–
Marty Russo 96–

Indiana:
David Wallace 27
Cyrus L. Dunham 32
William E. Niblack 40, 43
Godlove S. Orth 41
Michael C. Kerr 42
Thomas M. Browne 48–50
William D. Bynum 50, 53
Benjamin F. Shively 52
George W. Steele 54–57
James E. Watson 58–60
Edgar D. Crumpacker 61

Lincoln Dixon 62–65
Harry C. Canfield 71–72
John W. Boehne, Jr 73–77
Robert A. Grant 80
Andy Jacobs, Jr 94–

Iowa:
John A. Kasson 38, 43, 47–48
William B. Allison 39–41
John H. Gear 51, 53
Jonathan P. Dolliver 54–56
William R. Green 63–70
C. William Ramseyer 70–71
Otha D. Wearin 75
Lloyd Thurston 75
Thomas E. Martin 80–83

Kansas:
Dudley C. Haskell 47
Chester I. Long 56–57
Charles Curtis 58–59
William A. Calderhead 60–61
Victor Murdock 63
Guy T. Helvering 65
Frank Carlson 76–79
Martha Keys 94–95

Kentucky:
Christopher Greenup 4
Thomas T. Davis 5
John Boyle 8
Richard M. Johnson 11–12
Thomas Montgomery 13
David Trimble 15–16
Nathan Gaither 22
John Pope 25
Thomas F. Marshall 27
Charles S. Morehead 30–31
John C. Breckinridge 33
Robert Mallory 38
James B. Beck 42–43
Henry Watterson 44
John G. Carlisle 46–47, 51
Joseph C.S. Blackburn 48
W.C.P. Breckinridge 49–50
Alexander B. Montgomery 52–53
Walter Evans 54–55
Ollie M. James 62
August O. Stanley 63
Fred M. Vinson 72–75
Noble J. Gregory 78–85
John C. Watts 86–92

Louisiana:
Thomas B. Robertson 14
William L. Brent 19–20
Walter H. Overton 21

Lionel A. Sheldon 43
Randall L. Gibson 45–46
Charles J. Boatner 54
Samuel M. Robertson 55–59
Robert F. Broussard 61
Whitmell P. Martin 65–70
Paul H. Maloney 76, 78–79
Hale Boggs 81–91
Joe D. Waggonner, Jr 92–95
W. Henson Moore 96–

Maine:
Peleg Sprague 19–20
Francis O.J. Smith 24
George Evans 26
Israel Washburn 36
William P. Frye 46
Thomas B. Reed 48–50, 52–53
Nelson Dingley, Jr 51, 54–55
Daniel J. McGillicuddy 64

Maryland:
William Smith 1
William Vans Murry 4
William Hindman 4–5
William Craik 5
Joseph H. Nicholson 6–9
Nicholas R. Moore 8
Roger Nelson 9
John Montgomery 10–11
Alexander McKim 13
Stevenson Archer 13
Samuel Smith 14–17
Isaac McKim 18, 23–25
H. Winter Davis 34–36
Philip F. Thomas 44
Rogers C.B. Morton 91

Massachusetts:
Elbridge Gerry 1
Theordore Sedgwick 4
Theophilus Bradbury 4
Harrison Gray Otis 5–6
Samuel Sewall 5
Isaac Parker 5
Bailey Bartlett 6
Nathan Read 7
Seth Hastings 8
Josiah Quincy 9
Ezekiel Bacon 11–12
Ebenezer Seaver 11
Henry Shaw 16
Henry W. Dwight 19–21
Benjamin Gorham 23
Abbott Lawrence 24, 26
Richard Fletcher 25

George N. Briggs 25
Leverett Saltonstall 26
Robert C. Winthrop 29
Charles Hudson 30
George Ashmun 31
William Appleton 32-33, 37
Alexander DeWitt 34
Nathaniel P. Banks 35, 45
Samuel Hooper 37-41
Henry L. Dawes 42-43
Chester W. Chapin 44
William A. Russell 48-49
Moses T. Stevens 52-53
Samuel W. McCall 56-62
Andrew J. Peters 62-63
Augustus P. Gardner 63-64
Allen T. Treadway 65-78
Peter F. Tague 67-68
John W. McCormack 72-76
Arthur D. Healey 77
Charles L. Gifford 79
Angier L. Goodwin 80, 82-83
James A. Burke 87-95
James M. Shannon 96-98

Michigan:
William A. Howard 34-36
Austin Blair 41
Henry Waldron 43
Omar C. Conger 46
William C. Maybury 49
Julius C. Burrows 50-53
Justin R. Whiting 52-53
William A. Smith 59
Joseph W. Fordney 60-67
James C. McLaughlin 68-72
Roy O. Woodruff 73-82
John D. Dingell 74-84
Victor A. Knox 83, 86-88
Thaddeus M. Machrowicz 84-87
Martha W. Griffiths 87-93
Charles E. Chamberlain 91-93
Richard F. Vander Veen 93-94
William M. Brodhead 95-97
Guy Vander Jagt 94-

Minnesota:
Mark H. Dunnell 46-47
James A. Tawney 54-58
James T. McCleary 59
Sydney Anderson 63
Winfield S. Hammond 62-63
Harold Knutson 73-80
Eugene J. McCarthy 84-85
Joseph E. Karth 92-94
Bill Frenzel 94-

Mississippi:
Jacob Thompson 31
John Sharp Williams 58–59
James W. Collier 63–72
Aaron Lane Ford 77
Missouri:
James S. Green 31
John S. Phelps 32–37
Henry T. Blow 38
John Hogan 39
Gustavus A. Finkelnburg 42
John C. Tarsney 53–54
Seth W. Cobb 54
Champ Clark 58–61
Dorsey W. Shackleford 62–63
Clement C. Dickinson 63–66, 68–70, 72–73
Charles L. Faust 69–70
Richard M. Duncan 74–77
Thomas B. Curtis 83–90
Frank M. Karsten 84–90
Richard A. Gephardt 95–
Montana:
Lee Metcalf 86
James F. Battin 89–91
Nebraska:
William J. Byran 52–53
Charles H. Sloan 63–65
Ashton C. Shallenberger 73
Carl T. Curtis 79–83
Nevada:
Francis G. Newlands 56–57
New Hampshire:
Samuel Livermore 1
Nicholas Gilman 4
Abiel Foster 5
Nathaniel A. Haven 11
Henry Hubbard 23
Charles G. Atherton 25–27
Moses Norris, Jr 28–29
Harry Hibbard 31–33
New Jersey:
Lambert Cadwalader 1
Isaac Smith 4
Thomas Sinnickson 5
William Coxe 13
John L. N. Stratton 37
William Hughes 62
Issac Bacharach 66–74
Donald H. McLean 76–77
Robert W. Kean 78–85
Henry Helstoski 94
Frank J. Guarini 96–

New York:
John Laurance 1
Ezekiel Gilbert 4
James Cochran 5
Hezekiah L. Hosmer 5
Jonas Platt 6
Killian K. Van Rensselaer 7
Joshua Sands 8
Gaylord Griswold 8
Erastus Root 11
John W. Taylor 13–14
Jonathan Fisk 13
Thomas J. Oakley 13
James W. Wilkin 14
James Tallmadge, Jr 15
Albert H. Tracy 16
Nathaniel Pitcher 17
Churchill C. Cambreleng 17–18, 23–25
Dudley Marvin 19
Gulian C. Verplanck 20–22
Aaron Vanderpoel 26
Millard Filmore 27
Daniel D. Barnard 28
David L. Seymour 28
Orville Hungerford 29
Henry Nicoll 30
James Brooks 31–32
William Duer 31
Soloman G. Haven 33
Russell Sage 34
John Kelley 35
Eldbridge G. Spaulding 36–37
Eratus Corning 37
Reuben E. Fenton 38
DeWitt C. Littlejohn 38
Henry G. Stebbins 38
John V. L. Pruyn 38
James Brooks 39–40, 42
Roscoe Conkling 39
John H. Winfield 39
John A. Griswold 40–41
Dennis McCarthy 41
Ellis H. Roberts 42–43
Fernando Wood 43–46
Abraham S. Hewitt 48–49
Frank Hiscock 48–49
Sereno E. Payne 51–53
Roswell P. Flower 51
W. Bourke Cochran 52–53, 58–60
George B. McClellan 55–57
John W. Dwight 61
Francis B. Harrison 61–63
Michael F. Conry 63–64

George W. Fairchild 64-65
John F. Carew 65-70
Luther W. Mott 66-67
Alanson B. Houghton 67
Ogden L. Mills 67-69
Frank Crowther 68-77
Thaddeus C. Sweet 70
Frederick M. Davenport 70-71
Thomas H. Cullen 71-77
Christopher D. Sullivan 72-76
Daniel A. Reed 73-86
Walter A. Lynch 78-81
Eugene J. Keogh 82, 83-89
Albert H. Bosch 86
Steven B. Derounian 87-88
Jacob H. Gilbert 90-91
Hugh L. Carey 91-93
Otis G. Pike 93-95
Barber B. Conable, Jr 90-98
Charles B. Rangel 94-
Thomas J. Downey 96-

North Carolina:
Thomas Blount 4-5
Robert Williams 5
David Stone 6
James Holland 7
Willis Alston 10-11, 13
William Gaston 13-14
Abraham Rencher 25, 27
Henry W. Conner 26
James J. McKay 28-30
Edward Stanly 32
William M. Robbins 45
Edward W. Pou 60-61
Claude Kitchin 62-67
Robert L. Doughton 69-82
James G. Martin 94-98

North Dakota:
Martin N. Johnson 54-55
George M. Young 66-68
Byron B. Dorgan 98-

Ohio:
William Creighton 13
Thomas Corwin 23-24
Thomas L. Hamer 25
Samson Mason 26-27
John B. Weller 28
Samuel F. Vinton 29-31
Lewis D. Campbell 34-35
John Sherman 36
Valentine B. Horton 37
George H. Pendleton 38
James A. Garfield 39, 44-46

Robert C. Shenck 40–41
Charles Foster 43
Milton Sayler 45
William McKinley, Jr 46–47, 49–51
Frank H. Hurd 48
Charles H. Grosvenor 53–59
Nicholas Longworth 60–62, 64–67
Timothy T. Ansberry 62–63
Alfred G. Allen 64
George White 65
Charles C. Kearns 68–71
Charles West 73
Thomas A. Jenkins 73–85
Arthur P. Lamneck 74–75
Stephen M. Young 81
Jackson E. Betts 86–92
Donald D. Clancy 93–94
Charles A. Vanik 89–96
Bill Gradison 95–
Don J. Pease 97–

Oklahoma:
Thomas A. Chandler 67
James V. McClintic 73
Wesley E. Disney 74–78
James R. Jones 94–

Oregon:
William R. Ellis 61
Willis C. Hawley 65–72
Al Ullman 87–96

Pennsylvania:
Thomas Fitzsimons 1
Albert Gallatin 4–6
Henry Woods 6
John Smilie 6–7, 10–12
Joseph Clay 8–9
John Rea 11
Jonathan Roberts 12–13
Samuel D. Ingham 13–14, 18
John Sergeant 15, 25
John Ross 16
John Tod 17
John Gilmore 21–22
Horace Binney 23
Richard Biddle 26
Joseph R. Ingersoll 27–29
James Pollock 30
Moses Hampton 31
J. Glancy Jones 32, 35
John Robbins, Jr 33
James H. Campbell 34
Thaddeus Stevens 36–38
James K. Moorhead 39–40
William D. Kelley 41–50

Russell Errett 47
Samuel J. Randall 47
William L. Scott 50
Thomas M. Bayne 51
John Dalzell 52–62
A. Mitchell Palmer 62–63
J. Hampton Moore 63–66
John J. Casey 64, 68
Henry W. Watson 66–73
Harris J. Bixler 69
Harry A. Estep 70–72
Thomas C. Cochran 73
J. Twing Brooks 74
Patrick J. Boland 76–77
Benjamin Jarret 76–77
Herman P. Eberharter 78–85
Richard M. Simpson 78–86
William J. Green, Jr 86–88
John A. Lafore, Jr 86
Walter M. Mumma 86–87
George M. Rhodes 88–90
Herman T. Schneebeli 87–94
William J. Green 90–94
Raymond F. Lederer 95–96
Don Bailey 97
Richard T. Schulze 95–

Rhode Island:
Benjamin Bourn 4
Francis Malbone 4
Christopher G. Champlin 5
John Brown 6
Joseph Stanton, Jr 8
Daniel L. D. Granger 59–60
George F. O'Shaunessay 65
Richard S. Aldrich 69–72
Aime J. Forand 78–86

South Carolina:
William L. Smith 1, 4–5
Robert Goodloe Harper 5–6
Abraham Nott 6
David R. Williams 9
Langdon Cheves 12
Theodore Gourdin 13
Williams Lowndes 13–15
Thomas R. Mitchell 17
George McDuffie 18–22
R. Barnwell Rhett 25–26
Francis W. Pickens 27
John L. McLaurin 54
Ken Holland 95–97
Carroll A. Campbell, Jr 98–

Tennessee:
Andrew Jackson 4

William C.C. Claiborne 5
William Dickson 7, 9
George W. Campbell 10
Bennett H. Henderson 14
Francis Jones 16–17
James K. Polk 22–23
Cave Johnson 24
George W. Jones 31–34
Horace Maynard 37, 40–42
Benton McMillan 49–55
James D. Richardson 56–57
Cordell Hull 62–66, 68–71
Edward E. Eslick 72
Jere Cooper 72–84
Howard H. Baker 83–88
James B. Frazier, Jr 85–87
Ross Bass 88
Richard Fulton 89–94
John J. Duncan 92–
Harold Ford 94–

Texas:

John Hancock 44
Roger Q. Mills 46, 48–51
Joseph W. Bailey 55
Sam Bronson Cooper 56–58
Choice B. Randell 60–62
John N. Garner 63–71
Morgan G. Sanders 72–75
Milton H. West 76–80
J. M . Combs 81–82
Frank Ikard 84–87
Bruce Alger 86–88
Clark W. Thompson 87–89
George Bush 90–91
Omar Burleson 90–95
Bill Archer 93–
J.J. Pickle 94–
Kent Hance 97–98

Utah:

Walter K. Granger 82

Vermont:

Daniel Buck 4
Israel Smith 4, 7
Lewis R. Morris 5
James Fisk 10, 12
Horace Everett 25
Justin S. Morrill 36–39

Virginia:

James Madison 1, 4
William B. Giles 5
Richard Brent 5
Walter Janes 5
Levin Powell 6

John Nicholas 6
John Randolph 7–9, 20
James M. Garnett 9
John W. Eppes 10–11, 13
William A. Burwell 12, 14–16
James Pleasants 12–13
John Tyler 16
Andrew Stevenson 17–19
Alexander Smyth 20–21
Philip P. Barbour 21
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